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## The Vicious Circle

India at Washington, D. C.

Famine and Grip Sweeping India

To Members, Yearly \$1.00

15c. a copy

To Others, Yearly \$1.50

## THE INDIA HOME RULE LEAGUE OF AMERICA

## (A) Name

The name of the organization shall be "The India Home Rule League of America."

## (B) Objects

1. To support the Home Rule movement in India by co-operating with such political organizations as the Home Rule League, the All-India Muslim League and the Indian National Congress—bodies of India and England.

2. To secure the power of self-determination for India through constitutional methods.

3. To strengthen and support all democratic institutions that aim at making the world "safe for democracy."

4. To further all kinds of friendly intercourse—social, cultural, educational and commercial—between India and America.

5. To supply authentic information on the vital problems of modern India to the American people by the publication of a monthly magazine or by such other methods as are deemed proper by the Council of the League.

## (C) Membership

1. Membership is open to all adult men and women, who are in sympathy with the objects of the League.

2. Membership will be of three kinds:

- a. Active —paying \$5.00 a year
- b. Associate —paying 3.00 a year
- c. Ordinary —paying 1.00 a year

3. All members will be entitled to vote. Active and Associate members only will vote for the election of the Council, whereas Active members only will be eligible to the office of the organization.

4. Membership fee of Active and Associate members includes \$1.00 for subscription for the League's monthly magazine, "Young India."

## (D) Organization

1. The League shall have the following officers, who will be eligible members of the Council:

- a. President
- b. Vice-President or Vice-presidents
- c. Organizing Secretary
- d. Executive Secretary
- e. Treasurer

2. The officers of the League shall be managed by the office bearers and a Council of ten members to be elected as follows: 6 by Active members and 4 by Associate members.

3. The election of officers and members will take place during the annual conference. The decision will be in accordance with the majority of votes counting both proxy and voting votes.

4. The duties of the officers and the procedure of the meetings shall be regulated according to Robert's Rules of Order.

5. The Council shall have power to make its own laws of procedure.

## (E) Branch Organization

1. Seven members of the League living in any locality of America outside of the League's headquarters, can organize a branch after securing the sanction of the Council.

2. When the Branch is sanctioned, the members should elect their own officers and frame suitable by-laws, subject to the approval of the Council.

3. The Branch may charge extra, in addition to the regular membership dues, to carry on its activities.

## Our Book Shop

In connection with "Young India" we have opened a Book Shop. Almost all the publishers of New York are co-operating with us.

We take orders for all kinds of books: Indian books relating to India, the Russian Revolution, and the European War. School books also can be had from us.

The profit thus derived is used for the upkeep of the League.

Postage on all books is charged extra.

If you ever need good books, write to us immediately.

Vol. II

No. 2

## YOUNG INDIA

FEBRUARY, 1919

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## EDITORIAL NOTES AND NEWS

## Our Convention

Our last-mentioned meeting held on December 28, 1918, was purely a business meeting. The Secretary and the Treasurer read their reports and the President gave an account of the activities of the League during the year, and also explained the history of the movement. Short speeches were made by Miss Rodman, Dr. Sutherland and Mr. Haskins. The following officers were elected for the year 1919:

President—LARRY RAY  
Vice-President—Dr. J. T. SUTHERLAND  
Executive Secretary—Dr. N. S. HASKINS

Organizing Secretary—Dr. R. D. SUTHERLAND

Treasurer—LARRY RAY  
Secretary, Correspondence—Miss RODMAN  
Business, Mr. R. K. KATANA, Mr. J. J. SPENCER, Mr. E. W. HUNTER, Mr. A. P. WOODWARD, Mr. R. S. JONES, Mr. H. H. ADAMS, Mr. D. C. V. BENT, Mr. K. D. ROBERTS, Mr. E. H. NEWELL

## India and the Peace Congress

The Herald (London), of December 14, 1918, prints the following on the subject:

The Peace Congress will shortly assemble at Paris or Versailles. The constitution of the Congress is not yet adequately worked, but there is no doubt that India will not be represented except by the official members. The Congress can scarcely be able to solve the world-problem of peace with a single of its Asiatic race represented. Its decisions are not likely

to command acceptance in India unless India is represented by men who enjoy the confidence of the people. We would suggest that the Indian National Congress be invited to send two or three representative men at its meeting this month, and that the All-India Muslim League be similarly asked to send a Mohammedan representative, and the Chamber of Commerce (Indian) be asked to elect a commercial representative.

In connection with the same subject the following telegram was sent from Oakland, California:

Nov. 28, 1918.  
The Honorable Members, Wilson

The United House, Washington, D. C.  
In the coming peace conference we would urge that your Executive use your great influence on behalf of India, a rich and ancient nation which has contributed in large measure to the defeat of Germany, but which in all likelihood will be allowed no representation (what) that will truly voice its own strength for responsible Government and Home Rule.

TERMAS H. TALBOT

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As we go to press we learn that public meetings held at several places in India have passed resolutions appointing Mr. Tilak as popular Indian delegate to urge upon the Peace Conference the necessity for the application of the principle of Self-Determination to India. Mr. Tilak has been nominated a member of the Congress delegation—Herald, London.

### Lord Selkirk

Sir S. P. Selkirk, the Indian representative, at the Imperial Conference, has been appointed Under-Secretary of State for India. Not being a member of the House of Commons, a passport has been conferred on him, to enable him to sit in the House of Lords. He is the first Indian to be given these honours. Though we may not fully agree with him in all matters relating to Indian politics, we have no doubt of his ability, honesty of purpose, and patriotism. It seems that Mr. S. P. Selkirk is determined to "verify" the modernists. What effect it will have on their ranks, and on that of Indian Nationalism in general, remains to be seen.

### Home Rule for India

We have received the following from Mrs. Bennett under date, October 1925: "I am likely to be over in England on deputation, we tried to leave now, but the War Cabinet would not let the Government have given us passports. We may get them in the spring. Our work here has been shamefully misrepresented in the London press. There was a party for reception, and it went all ahead. The Congress is endeavouring to make modifications in us to make the scheme acceptable. We could not accept it as it was because it left the Government of India wholly unconnected, with all its power of expenditure and so forth if it chose to take it. So my policy was: 'Do not accept the scheme as it is, but press for modifications which will make it a real step.' I was very much at fault for refusing to reject it, accused of being bought by Government, etc. but was thankful, the Congress passed the modifications and the whole country is rallying round them. There is a practically unmet demand for the introduction of some responsibility into the Central Government"—The Herald, London.

### Reform Committee

The following appeared in the Times, London, December 1, 1925:

"The Committee on the Franchise and Taxpayers and Revenue Exemptions are held at noon. It is understood that the work will be pushed forward rapidly, so that all the alterations for the preparation of a Bill may be ready by March."

"The important question of principle arises from the committee's work. Is it whether the Montagu-Chelmsford Report is to be considered as a basis for discussion, which was the avowed object of its authors, or is a settled fact. There is a strong feeling in most progressive local governments that the scheme of alterations proposed for the poor class is unacceptably complex, if not unacceptable, and should be improved by changing the distinction between Ratepayers' Councils and Municipalities, reducing the Councils to large urban bodies serving a sanitary instead of the double role of administration and raising the number of ratepayer electors and simplifying the procedure to ensure the utmost efficiency of the Government at the next of differences with the Legislative Assembly. As these views emanate from men who will have to work the new machine they are entitled to express and are in accord with the general opinion of the country, where the principle of a double role is universally discredited."

### India and the War

At the outbreak of war the strength of the army in India was 100,000, 80,000 Indian, 20,000 British. The number of Indian ranks increased during the war to September 1918, when it was 1,042,000, of which 750,000 were combatants and the rest non-combatants.

The number of officers and men sent on service overseas from India up to September 1918, was:

	British	Indian
To France	12,924	121,000
To East Africa	14,400	60,000
To Mesopotamia	10,120	100,770
To Egypt	1,000	110,000
To Gallipoli	50	9,420
To Salonika	60	4,520
To India	7,000	30,000
To Persian Gulf	900	20,000
	29,524	321,270

Total

3,703,000

British ranks sent from India to Egypt had reached 31,400, making with the above a grand total of 1,201,100.

The total Indian conscripts in the same period were 1,000,000. In Mesopotamia there were 10,000 British and 20,000 wounded. The most largest casualties were incurred in Persia, where 6,000 were killed and 10,000 wounded.

### War Allowances in India

We frequently are asked why the Indians (and at the moment and otherwise) in British India, A. and S. and paid off in a valuable military service in the war has a material loss in the likelihood of his succeeding in his struggle of gain. Yet we cannot help feeling that every man who has been sent to India got a taste in their ability to make money in the world, and a taste in the world. India is about the poorest country on earth, yet it contains the most easily procured currency. The most high of high paid officers, Government and their assistants, revenue, doctors, engineers, clerks, Messengers, Captains, and other services come from the other side. These salaries are paid with the regard to this fact. They are paid on a higher scale than is allowed in any other country for similar work. Even when they go to the hills in the summer they get full allowances. Besides they get a number of leave and enough allowances. Yet every man who has been sent to India got a taste in the world of special allowances, the British Indian officers, and in their class, as they go to the hills for their leave and make of the luxury of which they are members were a few times and they get what they want. It has just been announced by the Indian Office that grants of children's allowances to officers of the Indian Army, Indian Army officers, and Royal Indian Marine have been sanctioned by the Secretary for India. The concession will have effect from the next date in for British service officers, viz. October 1, 1925, and the allowances will be based on the following conditions: (1) Children's allowance per annum shall be \$100 (or 1000 rupees) per month or under will receive children's allowance at the rate of \$10 a month if the children are in the country, and at the fixed rate of \$10 per month if they are in India. (2) Officers whose pay and staff pay is between \$200 and \$250 per month will receive the equivalent of \$5 a month if the children are in the country and if not fixed rate of \$10 per month if they are in India. Officers whose leave pay is less

than the equivalent of \$5.00 per month received at the current rate of exchange will be eligible for the allowance.

In accordance with the practice of the War Office, these allowances will be paid in addition to the officers pay and will therefore be payable with last pay. It, however, the officer is serving with an Expeditionary Force the allowance may be added to his family allowance.

### Delay in Sentences

By J. D. Ross, writing in *Raymond's Weekly Messenger* of December 8, 1925, about the Montagu-Chelmsford report, says that "it would be difficult to avoid the conclusion that, if the proposals are not accepted and acted upon without any avoidable delay, probable disappointment will result and further difficulty experienced in governing India. The best proof of their moderate character is that criticisms in both directions, and particularly, the Indian extremists will have none of them, while they appear to satisfy moderate men at home and in India." Let those who think that everything in India is going along smoothly note the italicized words.

### Labour in India

Labour in India is just starting its organization. The Home Rulers have succeeded in organizing the soft hands of Buckingham and Cambridge in Madras. This has given offence to the proprietors, who have issued a statement complaining of the action of the Home Rulers and pointing out to these brother capitalists what Home Rule will mean. Poor deluded souls! They thought that India was to remain in their grip for ever and ever, and that they could do with Indians as they pleased. If so, the time has arrived for their disillusionment, and the sooner they adjust themselves to new conditions the better for them.

### Reform

We take the following from a London paper:

The genius of Indian reform having once been created requires a general education. Everywhere we meet with people showing uncertainty as to moment which calls for modified and vigorous action. Scarcely anybody ever possesses real sense of business sense which they stand and doing can serve only to strengthen the inferior forces which are already at work. We can only hope that in the coming struggle for power and wealth we shall be able to hold our own and that the great possibilities in this country (Hindustan) will have the knowledge and the energy required to supply position at the decisive point, not at the danger of political agency, but at the crisis where India's destiny will decide what future must be to it.

### Indian Banking

We take the following from *India*, London:

Mr. George Hamilton recently read a paper at Calcutta on Indian Banking Development, in the course of which he gave evidence in plainest possible language. "The way it goes right the matter is to bring up India's gold in London, but the rising threat loomed before the war, and the thing doing well happened, which India has for ever accepted bankers in London to protect her interests and keep an eye on the London market. Britain distinguished themselves by assisting India's gold, the London Bankers have appeared in strong and live in money India's banking position. The Government has done well in stopping the game. India is well able to build up a banking system of her own, the system in the world, without the help of London, and it is to be hoped that, whatever form of Government is in power here, it will not let the London bank be allowed to get its finger in the banking pie to pull out the phone, which India needs as badly as herself."

Dr. Daniel Hawthorne is a British merchant.

### Indian Womenhood

Lord Levegh's witty representation of present-day India in the India Day which had the members in the order a number of her which his brother was invited to make merry speeches, said some of the successful influences that at-

tended at Castle Hill, on Tuesday evening (December 23), under the auspices of "Young India," to know as Mr. Bhagwanlal Bhatta address on "Womanhood in Hindu India." Mr. Bhatta treated the subject from a different standpoint, from that of his address to the Royal Society of Arts the week before last, when Lord Curzon presided.—*India*.

### Voices for Indian Women

Lady Blanche Mahomed presided at the Lyric Club last night at a dinner to celebrate India's share in the war. Presiding the toast of "India," she said that the occasion was intended to mark in a small way their appreciation of what they all felt as to the loyal co-operation of India during the war. She looked forward to the time when the full tale could be told of the support rendered. Already had received and the splendid work done by the Indian Army in Mesopotamia. Great changes were wrought in India, and she hoped they would bring the Indian people happiness. Women's influence in India might be a real and an ethical source of the Indian Government. She would like to see the Indian women represented in Parliament, and would be glad to represent their friends. (Cheers.) Sir M. W. Srinivasagopal requested. He looked forward to India being admitted to a full partner into the Empire.—*Morning Post*.

### The British Elections

The recent British elections have resulted in a complete rearrangement for the Coalition Government. The British Labor Party have improved their position by about 100 per cent. They have now 75 members in the new House (65 I. L. P. and 10 Coalition) as against 28 in the last Parliament. The Independent Liberal Party (the Asquiths) and the Irish Nationalists have been completely swept away. The Sinn Féinists have won a complete victory by sending 77 members against 10 Nationalists. The leader of the Nationalist Party, Mr. John Dillon has been ostracized, and so have Mr. H. H. Asquith and his principal Leftwingers of the Liberal Party. Poor prominent Labor leaders, three of whom were prominent among the leaders of India, have

been defeated—Mr. Arthur Henderson, Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, Mr. Philip Snowden, and Mr. George Lansbury.

Less than 50 per cent of the registered voters took part in the elections and 30 per cent voted for the Coalition Government. The Commons, all divisions (other than known as Tories) have a clear majority over all other (combined) parties. The outlook is by no means cheering for the British democracy, except that the loss of Hinduism makes a policy of reaction and repression dangerous for the governing classes.

By common consent this Parliament cannot but keep. We are glad to hear that one of the greatest friends of India, Commander J. Wedgwood, has been returned unopposed. The details of the election are not yet available in this country, so we are not in a position to say who else among the friends of India has succeeded in being returned to Parliament.

### What About the Kaiser?

For a number of days, before the British elections the papers were filled with the desire of the British Government to bring to trial the former German Kaiser but the moment the elections were over all talk ceased. "What does it signify?"

### Opinion on "Young India"

Prof H. R. Huxley, Secretary of Columbia University, and now the managing editor of the *New York Mirror* thus expresses his opinion about "Young India" in a letter addressed to the manager:—

I am glad to say that I personally find *Young India* very useful. It is having a mission to materialize not commonly published in this country, dealing with India and especially in presenting the point of view of an influential section of Hindu opinion. It appears to me to be serving the important cause of better international understanding. Every one who has at heart the

cause of democratic progress must, I think, appreciate the manner in which you are striving to bring about the development of India toward self-government and an ultimate place in the family of free nations.

### India in Bookings

In America aware, in the civilized world aware, that the world's oldest nation, its largest nation but one, a nation civilized when even Greece and Rome were barbarian, a nation which has given to mankind a great literature and two great historic religions, a nation possessing a population of nearly 300 millions—one-fifth of the entire population of the globe—on today a slave-ocracy, not permitted to make a single one of its own laws, or control a single dollar of its own revenues, or shape in any degree its own national career? Such, to-day, in this twentieth century, is India's condition. J. T. Severance, U.S.A.

### H. A. A.

The Hindustani Association of America is an organization of Hindus and Americans with the aims to foster social relations between the two countries and to help the Hindu students in the country. It has done good work in the past and the new officers just elected assure us of good work in the future, and that they are going to put fresh energy and zeal into the work of the Association. It is needless to say that we wish the Association all the success that it deserves.

The officers for 1919 are:

President—Ran Kagar Khanna  
Vice-Presidents—Dr. Thomas Moore, Esq., B. N. Bhandik, Middle West, S. E. Mahesh, West  
General Secretary—S. N. Bose  
Editor—S. N. Kari  
Treasurer—A. K. Sen  
Members of the Board of Directors—B. B. Sarkar, G. D. Dasgupta, J. S. Anja



British Consulates, all over the world. An Indian officer of good rank and experience ought to be posted at each of such important centers of trade as New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Vancouver, Tokio, Paris, Buenos Aires, Montevideo, etc.

The Indian representative in the Consulate will look after the Indian Trade and other interests. And what is of greater importance is that the Indian High Commissioner will be served a great deal of expenditure which is now incurred in maintaining an army of spies to watch the activities of the Indians abroad. An Indian consul will get much of the information for which the British Indian government has to pay at present. By maintaining social relations with prominent Indians in different places, he will come to know many of the Indians personally, and thereby keep himself in touch with their activities, without necessarily spying on them. Many of the false and sly reports, which are now sent by diplomat, disinformers, low-minded mercenary spies will disappear and a great deal of misunderstanding will be avoided.

Besides, the Indian representative will be able to give more time to the needs of the Indians abroad. At present the British Consulates are, perhaps, overworked, or perhaps they have to wait for a long time for reports from their Secret Service men. But it is a fact that much business is stalled by the delays that take place in the disposal of applications for passports, et cetera. We know

of a case in which an application for passport was made in July, 1918. Since then the applicant has sent several reminders, but no reply has been given to him, one way or the other. Now, this uncertainty is extremely annoying. Besides, it causes loss. One cannot make any engagements or start any business, unless he knows where he stands.

This is by no means a solitary case. The fact that the application is connected with a political organization is no reason for the refusal of a passport or for the delay in the disposal of his application. We would earnestly draw the attention of the India Office to this matter. We do not mean to bring a charge of neglect against the New York Consulate. Perhaps they are not at all responsible for this delay, and the fault lies with the Government of India or the India Office. At any rate the situation is untenable and requires looking into.

Since the above was in type the gentleman in question has received his passport.

### Expensive at the Top

The Times of India, an Anglo-Indian daily paper published in Bombay, writes, some time ago on the Indian Scheme,

"Unless there are radical changes, one effect of this scheme will be likely to be to drain the resources of the administration at the top, when any considerable energy of the Indian administration must show that it is too expensive at the top and not economical enough at the bottom." (The Indian is the more so now.)

## THE VICIOUS CIRCLE

By Jagat Rai

The economic life of India moves in a vicious circle. All the burdens fall on the land and the ryot, making the country liable to recurring famines by reducing the profits of agriculture, and affecting disastrously the vitality of the people. The ryot is the ultimate payer of all the taxes direct or indirect as he is virtually the only producer of wealth. Since the country was opened to the world trade, the standard of living has risen, the village industries have been destroyed, prices have gone high, rent and revenue have increased, and the quantity of land available to each ryot has been immensely reduced. At every period of assessment the land tax has been raised.

The money value of the land has enormously increased as land is so easily sold to investment for the capitalist. The prices of the agricultural products have considerably risen on account of the demand from foreign markets, with added incentives for export. Thus, however, does not help the ryot at all. The increase in prices would benefit him only if he could produce more than was needed by himself and his family for food. Thus he rarely did, even before. But now he simply can not do it. Beyond providing means for sustenance in trade undisturbed before, nothing has been done to increase the produce of the land. The digressive seedlings, capitalistic cultivation have neither the means to purchase modern tools, nor the knowledge of their use. Of scientific fertilizing they have never heard. As soon as the crops appear their first concern is to sell the product, to pay the landlord his rent, and the government the revenue. There is no provision for storage to enable them to get advances for payment of revenue, pending profitable sale at good

prices. More often than not the spot sells at low prices, and then buys at high rates to supply his own needs, and those of his family.

Some idea of the smallness of the holdings may be gained from the extracts of the Mortgage-Charged report we published in our previous issues. For facility of reference we reproduce one here:

"The revenue and rent returns show how small the agricultural holdings are. According to our estimate the number of landlords whose revenues derived from their proprietary holdings averaged £400 (£100) a year in the United Provinces is about 125,000 out of a population of 40 millions."

In all India the agriculturalists form about 75 per cent of the population. According to that ratio, the agricultural population of the United Provinces should be about 26 millions. If only 125,000 of these 26 millions make an income of £100 or more a year, it means that, out of every ten thousand, 9,825 have an income of less than £100 a year from agriculture, which, if divided over a family of five persons, reduces the figure of less than £20 per head per year. The vast bulk of them must be making much less than that. This results in conditions of chronic hunger and privation—a condition which makes them easy victims of epidemics, and prevents them from applying themselves successfully to their work, even when work is obtainable.

The economic condition of the Indian ryot is a disgrace to the country and its government. We cannot really understand how any man, whether an Indian or a Britisher, can, with any decency, talk of Indian prosperity and of the contentment and happiness of the Indian masses. There must be some-

thing fundamentally wrong with the mental and moral state of people who talk glibly of the prosperity of India. A society which allows such a hopeless exploitation of its human resources, while maintaining a host of parasites in the best condition, hardly deserves to be tolerated at all, much less to be called civilized. When we say society we include in the term not governing agencies. Looked at in this light the question of Indian autonomy becomes one of paramount necessity. It becomes no duty. But even if it is to be delayed, we urge that the day of the government of India is to judge all the resources of the country to a substantial improvement in the economic condition of the Indian masses.

The recently issued report of the Industrial Commission shows a deplorable state of things. We have known it all along. But the world now knows it through the authority of British experts. On another page the reader will find the broad general conclusions of the Industrial Commission which have been published in the columns of our London contemporary "India". The report, it is said, gives a long catalogue, described as almost "innumerable," of industries, which through their products are essential in peace and war times, as lacking in India. The Commission has, of course, made definite recommendations which require a large outlay of money. We are of opinion that no time should be wasted in calling for reports on the recommendations. While the government should do its best to hasten at once. All the agency and enthusiasm of the war time preparations should be directed to the immediate carrying out of the recommendations of the Commission. Now that Great Britain is going to get back all her war expenses from Germany, India's contributions to the war should be immediately returned and applied to the dissemination of edu-

cationary and vocational schemes in the country.

Industrial development of the country will, to a certain extent, reduce pressure on land though sooner or later a movement will have to be made to purchase all the big landlords in order to sell out plots, on the installment system, to those who want to do farming, for their livelihood.

The land legislation of the Punjab embodied an entirely wrong policy. It is high time that the policy of "land for the cultivator" and not for the capitalist be adopted. The British government is guilty of a serious dereliction of duty in selling large plots of cultivated land by public auction to the landlords and capitalists. They are adding to the strength of a class which needs to be thwarted. It is absolutely futile to make distinctions between money-lending capitalists and capitalists of the so-called agricultural classes. Every one who does not need land for cultivation and buys it for the purpose of investment is a capitalist, be he of the professional money-lending class or of the professional agricultural classes. The policy of making new capitalist landlords ought to be immediately stopped; no grant of land should be made to anyone who does not intend to cultivate it. The capitalist landlord is more or less a parasite. To add to their number is a tremendous mistake. Sooner or later the mistake will have to be rectified, perhaps at great cost to the state. Why add to that cost by making fresh land lords? Let us not be misandered. We are not making a plea for the confiscation of property, nor for the forcible purchase of the rights of landlords. We are urging that the policy of creating new capitalist landlords by selling sales of cultivable lands to the possession of the government is utterly wrong and must be changed.

## INDIA AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

By Charles T. Hallinan.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 26.—For the past two weeks I have watched Dr. Hardiker of the India Home Rule League in his efforts to interest members of Congress in the case for India, and I am tempted to put down my impressions for the benefit of the League.

In the first place, I must confess my surprise at the cordial and intelligent reception which Dr. Hardiker got. One gets pessimistic about Congress from too much reading of the Congressional Record, and when Dr. Hardiker started out to interview members of both Houses, I was inclined to think that he would get turned from the doors. But by proceeding slowly, using introductions wherever he could, avoiding some of the pitfalls of the industry lobby, he has succeeded in the past fortnight in establishing a real relationship with some of the most influential members of both Houses.

There is a good deal more curiosity about India down here than I would have assumed. Some of the members whom Dr. Hardiker interviewed showed that they had read widely on the Indian question. Speaker Clark, for example, proved to be unexpectedly well-informed on the subject. Some of the Senators showed by the sort of questions they asked that they had been thinking about India as a nation whose right to self-determination was on all-fours with the rights claimed for Poland and Czech-Slovakia.

Of course, there is just as much misinformation about India down here as there is anywhere, but, so far as my observation goes, Dr. Hardiker got everywhere a courteous reception, a chance to tell his story, and usually some comment at the end which showed that he had at least made an impression. When the India Home Rule League decides to open a real campaign down here on the Indian question, there are a number of men in both Houses who can, and will, talk intelligently on the subject. I don't pretend that many of them will go to great lengths to defend India's case. I don't suggest that if the newspaper men go to cover India, many of these Congressmen will talk unpopularity on her behalf, but I do believe that the foundation has been laid as much better fortress than usual. More propaganda—if my own observations are worth anything—usually plunges in here without paying much attention to the psychology of Congress.

Of course Dr. Hardiker has met the sort of Congressmen who are interested in the "cash" and would like to have a little "sumo" in the Congress. "For just a few friends." Of course he has met the Congressmen who "read in the paper the other day" that England had granted India "home rule" and would not see why the question wasn't settled. Of course he has met the Congressmen who has read somewhere that the Germans forced the British "surrender" somewhere, and who is inclined to be suspicious and aloof. But these are the minor points. The fact is that several influential Senators and Congressmen are reading "England's Debt to India" and are wondering why Parliament haven't that look from the mails, others have got a fairly good fix in their heads that we have advanced further in the Philippines than England has in India, still others have begun to say in the dinasties and elsewhere "There is a blunder down here talking 'home rule for India', he is an intelligent fellow, if he shows up in your office, draw him out, he has an interesting story to tell."

In a recent letter addressed to the President of the India Home Rule League of America, the Honorable Miss Jefferies Hamilton remarks:

"Those members of Congress who met Dr. Hanchison were very much pleased with the way he presented the subject, and I think they became really interested. I feel that the educational work that he did will be very fruitful in the future. If the Americans people are intelligently informed on the situation of foreign countries, they generally will always be for freedom and democracy. For that reason I believe that such work as Dr. Hanchison did in Washington will be helpful to your League."

## BUDDHISM IN HINDU CULTURE

By Boney Kumar Sarkar

Probably Buddhism is the theme on which, among all Asian topics, the greatest amount of scholarship has been bestowed. Its place in the scheme of Oriental life and thought remains yet to be understood. In fact, it is the most misinterpreted of all phenomena in the East. Let us try to understand Buddhism as actual history.

In the first place, Buddhism as a cult, of which Buddha is the God, is not the religion or morality founded by the master Shakyas, called the Buddha, i. e. the "enlightened" or enlightened (B. C. 563-483). The distinction between Shakyas and Buddhism is the same as that between the teachings of Jesus the Jew and the teachings of St. Paul about Jesus the Christ, who is a god. The Buddhists were formulated by Ashvaghosha and came into existence as a distinct faith about the first century A. D. during the reign of the Indo-Tartar emperor Kanishka. This religion, also called Mahayana (The Greater Vehicle) was theologically much altered to, and did not really differ in ritual and mythology from, the contemporary sects and the Parivraja-Hindus. It is difficult to distinguish the element of an Aryanisation of that Buddhist pantheon from that of a Java Vrishnakara or a Hindu Vishnu. The Buddhists that appeared in China and Japan as the

latter-day creed of gods and goddesses.

What now about the teachings of the man Shakyas himself? Even going far for the moment that there were all persecuted, it need be recalled that they were not the sole source of light in the India of the fifth and sixth centuries B. C. Shakyas lived in an age when the "sacred and secret" were legends. There were ancient physicians, surgeons, grammarians, logicians, poets, seers and psychopaths, and there were systems and systems of such of these classes of intellectuals. Shakyas had no monopoly as a theologian or moralist, as a spiritual doctor or that "glorified ascetic."

Of course, Shakyas, the son of the president or seigneur (ruler) of the Shakyas republic, had become an ascetic. He led the world astray, but did he ever become a reformer? No, he remained a propagandist of his life. He founded, no doubt, an order (Samgha) of monks, but he taught also the world of gods and gods and gods of soldiers, diplomats, merchants, courtiers and government. The Confucius of the Vedas in Eastern India looked up to him as adviser on critical occasions in national politics.

Now were the followers of Shakyas more ascetics? They were, as a rule, energetic. Quakers or non-actionists not the principle on which

his Samgha was organized. The first hospitals of the world were built by his disciples, at least as early as the third century B. C. Schools, academies and residences were the headquarters of the Shakyas monks.

It is the custom to mention Emperor Asoka the Great (B. C. 273-232) as the most distinguished follower of Shakyas. He is generally known as the "Convert" of "Buddhism." But, strictly speaking, he has been more above, there was no Buddhism in the third century B. C. Besides, in what sense can it be said that Shakyas was a "true religion" or Asoka's man? The disciples of Buddha under administration were not all followers of Shakyas. No article of law was imposed upon the officers. Toleration was the declared policy in matters of conscience and moral. Nor was the famous edicts of the emperor regarded as assistance in favor of Shakyas. His own cult of Dharma or Duty upon was distinct from, though based on, Shakyas' tenets. His tone to these arrangements to the people were really the substance of an "enlightened," benevolent despot. The general education and moralizing of the monarch are manifest as the Shakyas' object. "All men," as we read, "are my children, and just as for my children I desire that they should enjoy all happiness and prosperity, both in this world, and in the next, so for all men I desire the like happiness and prosperity."

Asoka's care and efforts were thoroughly humanitarian. He did not play the quietist, seeking a dream of the will to live. He did not regard the success of life as enough to be desired. He was the founder of internationalism. He sent his own son to proselytize Ceylon. It was his embassy that brought Western Asia, Egypt, Greece, Macedonia, Etruria, and Kyrene within

the sphere of Hindu influence. His secular activity in new life was the most pronounced. Alas! he is one of the greatest causes of all ages.

And as for the secular monks and ascetics of the Buddhist organizations, they also did not keep wholly aloof from politics. They knew how to take part in intrigues and promote revolutions. They were used as instruments by some rulers and worshipped as "sage-monks" by others. They would band themselves into military orders in order to be qualified as participants in civil wars. They were active in financial economy, too. During the seventh and eighth centuries, e. g., under Harshavarma, Shashanka, Dharmapala, and others the political interference of monks-princes were constantly an evidence. The medieval history of China and Japan also affords instances of warfare conducted by Buddhist monks in politico-military drives.

After all, it must be admitted, however, that Shakyas' Weltanschauung or view of life was certainly "not of this world." But the Nirvana, i. e., doctrine of annihilation did not imply the "denial of the will to live." It tended rather to emphasize the sanctification of and the removal of misery and pain. His trend was systematically "enlightened." Activism was thus the very keynote of his propaganda.

The idea of Apparacha (i. e., violence, anarchy, anarchy), or anarchy was the cardinal element in Shakyas' pedagogy of the moral will.

His educational trend may be gathered from some of his sayings in the "Dhammapadam."

"By raising himself, by contentment, by content and control, the wise man may make for himself as island that on flood can never sink."

"Farmer among the thoughtful



walks among the droppers, the wise man advances like a tiger leaping behind the flock.

"By consciousness (samajbhava) did India rise to looking of the gods. People praise consciousness, thoughtfulness is blamed."

"A merchant who delights in consciousness and looks with fear on thoughtlessness, moves about like fire, burning all his followers, small or large."

"He who does not restrain himself when it is time to rest, who though young and strong, is full of doth, whose will and thought are weak, that lazy and idle man will never find the way to knowledge."

According to Shakyas the wise man is then an energetic, a moral and intellectual gymnast, a fighter. There is no place for non-action, passivity or cowardly retreat in the Shakyas system of self-discipline. The followers of the Buddha must "advance like a racer" and "move about like fire."

The same campaign was strongly recommended by Ashoka also. We read in his Minor Rock Edicts (No. 1):

"Even the small man can, if he chooses, by exertion, win for himself much heavenly bliss."

"For this purpose has been proclaimed the precept, viz., Let small and great exert themselves in this end."

"My neighbors, too, should learn that fitness, and may such exertion long endure."

In all this the metaphysics of Vedantism and theosophy, or the ethics of the "perfection of character by effort." Whatever be the superstitions of Non-Aryan scholars regarding them, Shakyas, the Brahmins, and Ashoka the emperor, are two of the most successful agents of secular welfare and humanitarian co-organizing in Hindu estimates.

## Suggestions to Hindu Students

By Lajpat Rai

The Hindu students in the country have a splendid opportunity for studying certain subjects with a view to make themselves useful in the work of reconstruction—political, economical, social as well as educational, which awaits them at home. What is needed is a mastery of the theory combined with practical knowledge and experience of the working of institutions based on theory. I am preparing a complete list of subjects with the names of books relating thereto, which I shall personally recommend to the young Hindus in this country to select from, or study and research. I do not, however, want them to lose any more time and are going below a tentative list of the subjects which I recommended for study.

(1) The co-operative movement, with particular emphasis on the practical operation of the co-operative institutions in this country. Dr. J. F. Wicksome, 14 Washington Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y., who is the president of the American Co-operative Federation, will be too glad to supply information on this subject.

(2) Co-operative education.

(3) Labor organization with special reference to trade unions in theory and practice.

(4) The organization of recreation centers.

(5) The organization and workings of public libraries.

(6) The organization of private popular education, not on the basis of profit, but by way of mutual help.

(7) Public and semi-public libraries.

(8) The machinery for the improvement of agriculture and its co-operative use.

(9) Publicity work in connection with every kind of organization.

(10) Industrial and commercial organization.

## FAMINE AND GRIP SWEEPING INDIA

### Three Million Deaths From Influenza

The news from India is, in a way, very serious. The country is fair to face with famine and has suffered very heavily from the influenza epidemic. It seems that one more scourge has been added to the long list of disasters which have been ravaging the country for so many years—cholera, dysentery, plague—and now influenza. Influenza has been rampant perhaps all over the world, for the past several months, but we fear that nowhere else has it claimed so many victims as in India. The following telegram which was published by the London Times on December 1, 1918, tells its own story:

The influenza epidemic shows definite signs of abatement. Its ravages have been terrible. In Bombay one town with 15,000 deaths and in India only, with a population of 300,000, the death rate so far (calculated) 800 daily.

In the rural areas the reach of effective disinfectants measures the loss has been incalculable. A recent report shows that in the Punjab it followed much the same course as in places stricken more widely. The first signs appeared in August. In September it peaked at a mild form and from the middle of October until November 2 it was acute. It is estimated that the number of deaths ranges from 5 to 10 per cent of the population. The death toll is heaviest amongst young adults and women.

The number of deaths in the Punjab is estimated at 250,000. When the final results of the epidemic are known, it will probably be found that other provinces have suffered on approximately the same scale. No part of the country seems to have escaped although the epidemic was heaviest in Bengal and even the dry and burning Himalayas hills are reported to have been severely stricken.

One sign of the epidemic is that the United Kingdom is now the only country where no direct reconstruction policy is in operation. The epidemic prevalence of a sanitary campaign is urgent in India, which cannot stand three deaths in a winter-house. A scheme is now being established a Medical Research Institute at

London on the basis of the Rockefeller Institute. Large donations are promised, and the scheme holds out a standard process of providing disinfectant for the extermination of these destructive and killing epidemics. The population of the Punjab and the People's State of India is about 24,000,000 and of the whole of India about 315,000,000. If an average correspondence regards the influenza death rate, given as heavy throughout India, as in the Punjab, this would give a total death toll of over 1,000,000.

If the estimate given by the correspondence of the Times is correct, then, according to the note made by that paper at the end of the telegram, the total death toll comes to over 3 millions. But it is true that the number of deaths ranges from 5 to 10 per cent of the population throughout India the total death toll would be, not 3 millions, but from 15 to 30 millions. It is significant that the seriousness of the situation on the matter of sanitary arrangements has struck even the generally apathetic and optimistic correspondent of the London Times.

We have telegraphed a sentence in the telegram to draw the attention of the reader to the need of a sanitary campaign in India. But no more sanitary campaign can be of much help unless the people get sufficient to eat. The dual cause of heavy mortality in India from all kinds of diseases is the low vitality of the people, the direct outcome of insufficient food—a cause from which about 100 millions of the population in India suffer, even in prosperous years.

### The Famine

Another telegram in the London Times announces the official death notice of famine in the Bombay Presidency, one of the richest provinces of India, and one which, according to capitalist propagandists, profited enormously from war con-

distress. The telegram reads:

Bombay, Dec 4 (Delayed).

A Bombay Government letter to the Press shows that the shortage of money has been declared in many districts and in the Kathiawar Agency. While the general condition of the people does not seem to be so serious, it is undoubtedly true, in spite of the measures taken to relieve the financial deluge, heavy debt mortality is inevitable. Loans need to be concentrated on the procurement of the more suitable plough and silted earth, on which the agricultural prosperity of the country depends.

Since the agricultural population through out the Presidency have been hit, by the action of good rains, they are probably less fit to take loans than they are before, particularly in the cotton districts and where market produce, such as sugarcane, is grown. High prices due to war conditions have worked apprehensions to an unprecedented extent. The demand for labor has much extended the supply and high wages have been obtained for the most unskilled labor.

The Director of Civil Supplies has arranged for the expenditure of 50,000 tons of wheat for the Bombay and other provinces in India taken for the sale of grain at controlled prices. The Government is promising for wheat (although not harvested during the current season), and is supplying for a further 12,000,000.

We have noticed the words "immediately" and "probably" in the telegram. In a previous issue we had quoted Sir S. P. Sinha as explaining that what is known as "war property" has affected the market quite the other way. The conventional wisdom of the Times speaks of the high wages but is silent about the high prices. The wholesale prices of all commodities taken together has risen (according to the All-India Pioneer, a semi-official Anglo-Indian organ) from 73 per cent in Bangalore, to 251 per cent in Madras (averaging 124 per cent for all of India) since pre-war times. The prosperity under war conditions might have benefited the big Government contractors, landlords and landlords, but it has in no way benefited the poor ryot and the ordinary working man. The prosperity of a country is to be

judged by the condition of the masses and not by the wealth of the millionaires and professors, as the paid propagandists of the British empire in this country (including one Indian) try to make out. The condition of the Indian masses in anything but prosperous in ordinary years. They suffer, not from scarcity of food, but from lack of economic power to purchase food. When the rains fail and prices soar high these conditions become, deplorable — intolerable, and millions of human beings, as well as animals (mostly cattle) die from want of food and fodder, some of the cheapest food.

We know what famine means in India. We have seen hundreds and thousands dying and the rest horror reduced to mere skeletons. We have tried to alleviate these sufferings by what we could collect for their relief. It is but natural, then, that we should lose patience and self-control when we hear an Indian talking of the prosperity and happiness of India in American advertisements. We do not attempt to think well of him, but we simply cannot.

When we hear of famine in India coexisting with such prosperity as that when we imagine all the dark forces of influence, power and domination joining hands to play havoc with the millions in our poor country we feel as if Providence itself has deserted our motherland. We feel it more deeply as, sitting at a distance of 12,000 miles, we are unable to do anything (by way of sharing or alleviating their sufferings) any, living in well-furnished, well-lit houses, eating good wages, wearing good food, wearing good clothes, at times having good times also, we are apt to forget that there is any suffering at all in India.

Immersed in our own lives, in the giddy rounds of a life of indiffer-

ence and "I should worry," we forget the heavy debt that we owe to the land that gave us birth. But we not forget that constant, increasing, unending epidemics in the cities we must pay for by them. There is no about not to happen. If we are really sincere in our love of country and in the desire to serve our countrymen, let us always bear in mind the miserable condition of our masses and the starvation and destruction which they face. Let us do something more than remember. The least we can do is to put down our pleasures and save our money to help in the cause of freedom.

#### Waiting on All Sides

We quote the following from a letter received recently from India, by a member of our staff. The letter was written on November 7, 1918, just a few days before the armistice was signed.

"India perhaps never saw such hard times before. There is nothing as of other. The war has made the whole world miserable and every one now seems to be praying for its termination. Even India, comparatively so safe, is badly feeling the pinch of it. There is famine of everything, trade is at a standstill and all traffic is disrupted. There is utter drought. There have been no summer rains and the fields are presenting a parched appearance. There is no fodder nor grain. Wheat has been selling at five rupees a rupee" (the lowest price at which it has ever sold) and *Kajal* (some kinds used as fodder) at 15 rupees a rupee and that, too is not easily available. The money of the poor villagers knows no bounds, and to make the misery complete the influenza is ravaging the whole country. There is neither village nor town throughout the length and breadth of the country which has not paid a heavy toll. Bad deaths are reported everywhere. No ———, your old

superintendent who worked in the Punjab has also been carried off. In India (with a population of 350,000,000) the death rate reached five hundred per day, while in Lahore (with about 200,000) it is even now about two hundred per day. Schools and colleges are closed. Many universities are suspended. Even courts and offices are almost closed down. The epidemic has made people forget all their other miseries.

"A case in India costs 2 lbs. and a rupee 30 cents. The price of 20 lbs. of wheat, according to the above rate, is 5.00. Prices in India range from 4 cents to 20 cents per day, for imported wheat. The effect of the above price of wheat on such a population may well be imagined."

#### Cloth is Expensive

The following statement, which appeared in *The New York Globe* at January 11, 1919, and which has been made by missionaries from the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbytery of New Church, is sufficiently graphic.

1800 Cases of Influenza in New York and Puerto Rico in Nine Days. Can't Get Clothes.

Famine and influenza, with a death rate seven times as great as that which prevailed during the plague last spring, are sweeping across portions of India, according to reports received by the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbytery of New Church and made public in a day.

Failure of the grain crop after an invasion, drought and conditions caused by the war according to reports from missionaries, have sent the price of corn in some districts to such a point that the famine of 1900 when many thousands died of starvation.

"Cloth is so expensive that the making of clothing for the poor has been almost impossible, and millions are now suffering not only from hunger but from cold," the missionaries say. "Conditions are especially bad at Ranchi, Meer, Kanchi, and Jaipur in the latter city there were more than 1,000 cases of influenza, with a daily death rate of twenty. Poor people are freezing, their bodies are not in the best of health and old persons and young children are now following the dead."

The cost incurred in the above work more than 7,000 cases of influenza occurred, but a population of about 50,000. This means that practically one-fourth of the population suffered from this epidemic.

### Housing Conditions

One of the primary evils in India, arising from the low rate of wages paid to mill workers in India is the lack of sanitation and of decent housing conditions—a situation not rivalled that of the metropolis of the world, New York, and unheard of in almost any other part of the globe. We take the following statement from the Modern Survey, on housing conditions in the larger cities of India:

"A Sardar (landlord) gets more land from the mill, erects, he build house on. He brings the workers to live in the house cheaply sanitation, rent. The huts are very dark and gloomy, without any ventilation or light. Dirt is uncollected, or dumped on the yards. There is one lavatory for 50 persons with a rent of 1/2 anna (1/4 p., a cent) per week per head. In Bombay 70 per cent of the population live in one-room tenements. There are over 100,000 of these tenements, and the average number of persons per room is 447. Persons living in two or six room tenements average 1.53 persons in one room. In Madras, Circle No. 4, the number of persons in a single room reaches 1537." For the great bulk of the people the worst house means a single room.

As regards drainage and sanitation the Secretary of the Sanitary Department, Government of P.W.D. says: "It is not uncommon to find a whole series of buildings each occupying practically the whole site on which it stands. Each may be surrounded by a dirty gully which, in the absence of any possibility of installing a proper drainage system, is an open drain, containing the waste water used for domestic purposes and defiled with urine and

with all kinds of refuse thrown out of windows. Most of the rooms have no proper supply of light—small small windows or look out on the narrow passages never being opened, because of the badness of the gullies, and of the fear that rubbish and kith thrown out of the windows will enter the rooms."

"Inadequate municipal regulations with regard to dwellings, town-planning, a laissez-faire policy pursued with regard to the location of factories, as well as the house-taxes have all contributed to this overcrowding, smothering disease and discomfort, narrow streets, vice, and misery which visit The city of New York presents us with one of the world's over-crowded conditions, but the Sankey overcrowding from the New York record follows: In New York more than one and one-half persons to a room is held to be overcrowding. In Bombay and Tashkent the average number of occupants in a single room is 4.44 and 3.45, respectively, and in some of the tenements in there from three 1.5 persons live in one room."

"The effects of these conditions on the health and mortality of the people are alarming. Tuberculosis, which is the main infecting disease of these conditions, is fast spreading in Calcutta. The effect of constant exposure to unsanitary conditions is shown in the heavy incidence of tuberculosis among girls and young women. A comparison of figures of mortality in several large cities with those of Calcutta is worthy of note:

	Calcutta	Tokyo
	Death rate	Death rate
	per 1,000	per 1,000
London	11.6	1.6
Birmingham	11.1	1.2
Liverpool	12.5	1.4
Bombay	18.2	1.3
CALCUTTA	28.8	1.1

Another effect of unsanitary conditions has been the incidence of blindness. The loss of sight is less frequent, however, among them than among workers.

## THE AGA KHAN ON THE FUTURE OF INDIA

It is a remarkable work which His Highness, the Aga Khan, a prince-prince of India, an aristocrat of aristocrats, has written on "India as Transition." It shows how wonderfully fast India is changing, and how inadequately that change is appreciated in British Imperial circles. The Aga Khan himself is a British Imperialist, but his vision of the future British Empire is that of a watershed of free nations, each enjoying full autonomy within its territorial limits, contributing its quota to the permanence of common ends, and making common cause for the purpose of defence against common enemies. He dreams of a future South Asiatic Federation, with a "united autonomous India" as the center "an Afghanistan and a Persia whose independence and future are assured" on the West, "an autonomous Tibet" on the North, a "self-governing Ceylon" on the South, and Borneo, an integral part of the Indian Federation. "Thus, looking forward a few years," says he, "we may anticipate an independent, constitutional and liberal India, not bounded by the vast triangle of the Himalayas on the North, and the Indian seas and Bay of Bengal on either side down to Aden's Bridge, but consisting of a vast agglomeration of states, principalities, and countries in Asia, extending from Aden to Manipal, from the shores of the gulf in India proper down to the proper eastern shores, and including the Malay Peninsula, and then from Ceylon to the straits of Malacca, and from Tibet to Singapore. The agglomeration might well be called the South Asiatic Federation, of which India would be the pivot and center."

On the duty of improving the condition of the masses the Aga

### Khan maintains:

"It there is one thing which modern history proves, it is this, that, unless the governing classes and the governing light on the task of raising the masses of the people gradually, but surely, thus liberating the future of the Commonwealth on the whole and deeper than material—namely the whole modernity of the state—nothing could lead to years and years of spreading and disaster, and perhaps to destruction. A change of system is necessary. Though the history of the world is full of examples of such changes, especially amongst the despotic monarchies, we must there is a general character of reform amongst the people and public classes that the establishment of an administrative system more or less similar to the people and drawing its forces from their confidence and co-operation cannot be long delayed. We all know that the vast majority of the population is ignorant and illiterate, and the rural classes, but it must not be forgotten that the urban workers and the literate classes, though small, have a vast proportion of the important land, and will continue to be so, in the population of a century hence. It is not

will deny that, nevertheless, in the towns and in the cities, there is a proper and sound basis for a form of government that will allow the Indian to carry his head high as a citizen of a free Empire, and at the same time will provide the means for the raising of the lower classes of the rural population to a better standard of material and of life.

Comparing the existing administrative system of India with that of other Governments of Asia he says:

"There is little doubt, we have a Government that is not only in practice free from central and arbitrary control, but is actually based on the principle that local decisions are in the hands of an administration and responsible to the people at large, though some opportunities for criticism are given on the financial and provincial level. The administrative position of the Government leads to its being open to attacks from all quarters and yet in its being considered as one of the best of the world of the year 1900 might, should have been secured over their own administration."

On the responsibility of the British for poverty and poverty:

"System has been created and rightly justified for having allowed the twentieth century to show and prove without doubt



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